

DOS Review Completed.

**TOP SECRET SENSITIVE**

**T O P S E C R E T 042235Z OCT 72 SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY**  
**VIA BUNKER CHANNELS**

**FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER**  
**TO: AMBASSADOR BUNKER**  
**CITE: WHS2209**

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE  
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

**DELIVER IMMEDIATELY UPON RECEIPT**

**YOU SHOULD MAKE APPOINTMENT TO SEE THIEU URGENTLY ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT. SHOULD THERE BE ANY RELUCTANCE TO GIVE YOU AN APPOINTMENT IMMEDIATELY, YOU SHOULD NOT TAKE NO, INDICATING THIS IS AT THE PERSONAL REQUEST OF THE PRESIDENT.**

**YOU SHOULD TELL THIEU ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT THAT WE ARE EXTRAORDINARILY DISAPPOINTED BY HIS REACTION TO OUR VARIOUS PROPOSALS AND STRATEGY. HIS BEHAVIOR AND THAT OF HIS COLLEAGUES HAS MADE OUR COMMON EFFORT TO MOVE IN NEGOTIATIONS IN A WAY THAT WOULD ASSURE A NON-COMMUNIST STRUCTURE IN SOUTH VIETNAM IMMENSELY MORE DIFFICULT.**

**WE HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO PROCEED WITH THE PRIVATE MEETINGS SCHEDULED TO BEGIN ON SUNDAY. WE WILL MAKE A MAJOR EFFORT TO CONCENTRATE ON THOSE ELEMENTS OF THE PACKAGE, THAT IS TO SAY THE SECURITY ASPECTS, THAT ARE NOT IN DISPUTE BETWEEN US AND GVN. WE WILL DEAL VERY SPECIFICALLY WITH THE MILITARY PROVISIONS WITH THE INTENTION OF OBTAINING**

**RECIPROCAL ASSURANCES OF WITHDRAWALS FROM LAOS, CAMBODIA AND SOUTH VIETNAM. WE DO NOT EXPECT THE MEETING TO SUCCEED, THUS GIVING US A BASIS FOR CONTINUING OUR COURSE. IF THE RESULTS JUSTIFY, I WILL COME TO SAIGON BUT IN ANY EVENT, I WILL MAKE AN IMMEDIATE REPORT TO YOU FOR THIEU.**

**THIEU MUST UNDERSTAND THAT A PUBLIC CONFRONTATION WITH US WOULD LEAD TO COMPLETE DISASTER. OUR ONLY OPTION IN THAT EVENT WOULD BE A UNILATERAL DISENGAGEMENT. PLEASE RECALL TO THIEU THAT OUR CONCERN IS NOT WITH THE EFFECTS ON THE ELECTION BUT RATHER WITH BUILDING A PLATFORM**

FROM WHICH WE CAN TAKE THE KIND OF ACTION WE WANT IN THE POST-ELECTION PERIOD. No Objection to Declassification in Full 2010/11/17 : LOC-HAK-490-8-6-3 WILL MAKE IT ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE EVEN TO MAINTAIN THE PRESENT LEVEL OF OUR MILITARY

ACTION AFTER THE ELECTION, MUCH LESS TO STEP IT UP. IT IS ALMOST INCOMPREHENSIBLE TO THE PRESIDENT HOW THE GVN, AFTER ALL THE RISKS HE HAS RUN, COULD BEHAVE SO INSENSITIVELY. FOR THE SAKE OF ALL OF THE PRINCIPLES AND AIMS THAT WE TOGETHER HAVE FOUGHT FOR, WE URGE THAT THIEU NOT BRING ABOUT SUCH A CONFRONTATION. BOTH THE FUTURE OF SOUTH VIETNAM AND A VIABLE US FOREIGN POLICY IN THE WORLD ARE AT STAKE HERE. THE MOVEMENT TOWARD A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN US MUST END IF WE ARE NOT TO THROW AWAY TEN YEARS OF EFFORT AND THE LIVES OF THOUSANDS WHICH HAVE BEEN DEVOTED TO SECURING THE FUTURE WE HAVE BOTH SOUGHT.

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FYI: THE PRESIDENT ALSO WANTS URGENTLY YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION AND YOUR RECOMMENDATION AS TO WHERE WE GO FROM HERE. WE CANNOT CANCEL THE MEETING NOW SET FOR OCTOBER 8. WE CANNOT COMPLETELY STONEWALL WITHOUT HAVING A PUBLIC BLOW-UP WITH UNPREDICTABLE CONSEQUENCES NOT SO MUCH FOR THE ELECTION AS FOR THE FUTURE ABILITY TO CONDUCT THE WAR. WE MUST HAVE A PLATFORM ON WHICH TO STAND. BUT ABOVE ALL, WE NEED YOUR OPINION. YOU HAVE SEEN US THROUGH A LOT, SO GIVE US YOUR BEST ADVICE.

THE MESSAGE MUST BE DELIVERED DURING THE COURSE OF THE BUSINESS-DAY. IF YOU HAVE ANY CONCERN WITH IT, PLEASE LET US KNOW IMMEDIATELY WHAT THOSE CONCERNS ARE BEFORE DELIVERING THE MESSAGE. IF YOU THINK THAT THIS IS THE RIGHT WAY TO PROCEED, THEN YOU SHOULD GO AHEAD IMMEDIATELY WITH DELIVERY.

WARM REGARDS.

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